

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 173668

EXDIS - FOR AMB SMITH AND DR. NYE

FOL RPT ISLAMABAD 7477 ACTION SECSTATE 21 JUL 77 QUOTE

S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 7477

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EAID, MASS, OGEN, PINS, SHUM, PK, US

SUBJECT: DEALING WITH THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

REF: STATE 169932,

1. REFTEL IS HELPFUL REVELATION OF WASHINGTON THINKING. THE FOLLOWING IS OFFERED AS ADMITTEDLY PARACHIAL COMMENTARY OF REFTEL, IN EFFORT TO ASSURE MAXIMUM CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS.

2. INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN IS APPARENTLY DESIROUS OF LIMITING DAMAGE THAT SYMINGTON AMENDMENT WOULD CAUSE TO BILATERAL RELATIONS. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT GOP HAS CHANGED ITS VIEW THAT OUR MILITARY SALES RELATIONSHIP AND PL-480 SALES

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ARE IN ITS INTERESTS. FOR OUR PART, HOWEVER, WE SEEM TO BE JUMPING TO CONCLUSION THAT IF SYMINGTON AMENDMENT, OR SUCCESSOR GLENN AMENDMENT MUST BE APPLIED, IT WILL AND MUST AFFECT MOST ASPECTS OF RELATIONS, INCLUDING MILITARY SALES. WE SEEM ABOUT TO IMPLEMENT THAT BROADER INTERPRETATION UNILATERALLY, BEFORE SUCH ACTION WOULD SEEM TO BE NECESSARY.

3. I REALIZE I AM NOT IN POSITVN HERE TO ASSESS ACCURATELY CONGRESSIONAL REACTIONS IN THE EVENT WE HAVE TO APPLY SANCTIONS RELATING TO REPROCESSING PLANT. HOWEVER IT SEEMS TO ME AT LEAST POSSIBLE THAT THE CONGRESS, IN THAT EVENT, MIGHT BE PERSUADED THAT SOME DEGREE OF NORMAL SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP, ESPECIALLY IN MILITARY SALES, WOULD BE IN OUR INTERESTS, AS WE CONTINUE TO WORK ON NONPROLIFERATION GOALS HERE. THIS WOULD REFLECT WHAT WE UNDERSTAND IS THE CONGRESSIONAL VIEW THAT SYMINGTON AMENDMENT IS ESSENTIALLY PROPHYLACTIC, NOT PUNITIVE IN NATURE. WE SHOULD ALSO BE ON SAFE GROUND WITH THE CONGRESS IN ARGUING THAT WE ARE FULFILLING THE CONGRESSIONAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE SYMINGTON AMENDMENT, BUT NOT GOING BEYOND THEM INTO AREAS SUCH AS MILITARY SALES WHICH THE CONGRESS ITSELF EXCLUDED.

4. IF WE ARE TO ATTEMPT TO WORK WITH A FUTURE GOVERNMENT IN PAKISTAN FOR CANCELLATION OR NON-USE OF THE REPROCESSING PLANT, WE SHOULD AVOID IN THIS INTERIM PERIOD THOSE ACTIONS WHICH WOULD FURTHER AROUSE NEGATIVE PUBLIC, POLITICAL, MILITARY AND GOVERNMENTAL REACTIONS AND FURTHER LIMIT OUR ABILITY TO UNDERAKE USEFUL DISCUSSIONS HERE.

5. I WOULD THEREFORE ARGUE THAT WE SHOULD IN THIS PERIOD CONTINUE TO EXAMINE MILITARY SALES REQUESTS ON THEIR MERITS WITHOUT REGARD TO THE REPROCESSING ISSUE. SPECIFICATIONS I BELIEVE WE SHOULD MOVE FORWARD ON THE 105MM AMMO SALE, THE DESTROYER TENDER, THE ADDITIONAL TWO DESTROYERS AND THE HOWITZERS, FORWARDING THOSE
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FOR CONGRESSIONAL NOTIFICATION WHERE REQUIRED, AND WHERE THE SALES MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF OUR OVERALL ARMS POLICY. IF INFORMAL CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS INDICATE STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE SALES, WE COULD THEN DECIDE NOT TO GO AHEAD.

6. AS FOR THE ARGUMENT THAT THE SHIP SALES MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN A PACKAGE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT SHOULD THE GOP FOREGO REPROCESSING, IT IS OUR VIEW THEY ARE USEFUL NOW IN KEEPING OUR LINES OPEN TO THE MILITARY AND MAINTAINING THE GENERALLY FAVORABLE DISPOSITION TOWARD THE US OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS. HOWEVER, THEY WOULD NOT BE MAJOR INDUCEMENTS IF INCLUDED AS PART OF A MILITARY PACKAGE BECAUSE THE KEY ELEMENT OF A PACKAGE WOULD BE AIRCRAFT SALES.

7. AS THOSE WHO HAVE LIVED WITH THE 1965 ARMS EMBARGO KNOW, THE EMBARGO ON MAJOR SALES IMPLIED BY THE STAND-DOWN SUGGESTED IN REFTEL WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO LIFT. THERE WILL BE PLENTY OF TIME IN THE FUTURE TO IMPOSE SUCH RESTRICTIONS ON SALES IF AND WHEN WE CONCLUDE THAT NEW EFFORTS TO SECURE A CANCELLATION OF THE REPROCESSING PLANT HAVE DEFINITELY FAILED. IN THE MEANTIME, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH SHOULD NOT UNILATERALLY CURTAIL ITS OWN FLEXIBILITY IN APPROACHING THE ISSUE.

HUMMEL

UNQUOTE VANCE

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